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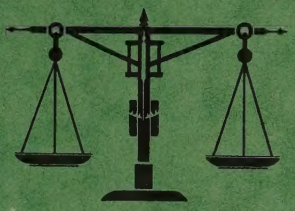
THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA



PRICE SEVEN SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE

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THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

Vol.III No.10 November 1961

The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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THE 22ND CPSU CONGRESS

The present issue of the Newsletter is devoted to those aspects of the 22nd Soviet Communist Party Congress which are relevant to the Middle East and Africa, since the views expressed at the Congress will undoubtedly be repeated and developed in subsequent Soviet writing. At this Congress, and in the Programme of the Soviet Communist Party, the prospects facing the Asian and African peoples have been presented as a matter of vital Soviet concern.

The Programme and the Afro-Asian Countries discusses the Soviet view of the impact of the CPSU Programme on the countries of Africa and Asia, and the development of Soviet views of the "national liberation movement". The independent under-developed countries are now exhorted to complete their "revolution" along Marxist-Leninist lines, towards the final goal of "scientific socialism", always looking to the example of the Soviet Union.

Speeches by Middle East and African Delegates include Khalid Bakdash's pronouncements on the new situation in Syria, Salam Adil's condemnation of the "military regime" in Iraq, and statements by North African Arab delegates on the present political line of their Parties. African non-Communist delegates who spoke at the Congress were those of Guinea, Ghana and Mali.

(Note: During the Congress period Soviet newspapers published very few reports on Middle East and African affairs. The usual review of Soviet press reporting on the Middle East and Africa will be resumed in the next issue of the Newsletter.)

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THE 22ND CPSU CONGRESS

THE PROGRAMME AND THE AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES

The Draft Programme of the Soviet Communist Party, published three months before the holding of the CPSU Congress, was evidently drawn up with an eye to its impact on the non-Communist countries of Asia and Africa. Subsequent Soviet comment on the Programme has presented it as enshrining the basic aspirations of the peoples of these countries. At the same time the programme set out to define the attitude of Soviet Communists towards the contemporary political situation in Asia and Africa.

African and Asian comments The impact of the Programme in Africa has been particularly emphasized in the Soviet press. Prof. I. Potekhin wrote in PRAVDA (13.10.61):

> "I recently visited some countries of tropical Africa, and observed with pleasure the enormous interest shown in the Draft Programme of our Communist Party. I met many people, old and young, who in the most painstaking fashion, pencil in hand, were studying the Draft Programme, trying to find answers to the questions which exercise them."

The interest of Africans in the Programme, said Potekhin, was due to their interest in socialism; despite the colonialists' attempts to conceal the fact from them, they knew that there existed a social system diametrically opposed to the capitalism which had brought them such sufferings, and they wanted this system for themselves. The first youth congress of Nigeria, held a month before, had declared that only scientific socialism could bring about economic advance and social equality for Nigeria.

Comments on the Programme by Africans in Cairo were quoted in a PRAVDA dispatch (13.9.61). Chitandika Kamanga, of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, said that the Programme's analysis of the present situation in Africa was "profoundly correct"; it was no use for the colonialists to try to frighten Africans with the "danger of Communism" when Africans saw that the socialist world stood for freedom and independence and admired the successes of the Soviet Union and its socialist system. Kenyama Chakela, of the foreign bureau of the Basutoland African Congress, particularly appreciated "the sections of the Programme dealing with the struggle against revisionism and clericalism", since the activities of Catholic and other religious missions in Basutoland were a threat to its national liberation movement. The people of Basutoland, despite the weakness of its working class, was determined to struggle for socialism, and saw in the Soviet Union an inspiring example and a great support in the struggle against colonialism.

A further selection of Afro-Asian comment on the Programme (PRAVDA 31.10.61) included the following statement by Wera Ambito, representative of the Kenya African National Union in Cairo:

> "We are in full solidarity with the Draft Programme of the CPSU. The Programme's section about the national liberation movement directly answers our aims and problems. We are one hundred per cent in agreement with the conclusions of this section."

Khrushchev, in his report to the CPSU Congress on the Programme, emphasized its attraction for Africa and Asia (PRAVDA 19.10.61):

> "The imperialist bourgeoisie is particularly troubled by the influence of the ideas of the Programme on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A member of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Albert Gore, has uttered this warning with alarm: 'One should not underestimate the attraction of the Draft Programme for poor nations.' The attraction exercised by the ideas of the Programme is great indeed for all the peoples exploited by capitalism. The TIMES OF INDIA states: 'Since the time of the Communist Manifesto there has not been so inspiring a Communist document. The implementation of the Programme, too, is not open to doubt. The Afro-Asian peoples at least have been convinced under the impact of Soviet achievements that Russia fulfils all her promises.' This is not a bad testimonial to our programme of activity."

Further development of the "national liberation movement" Soviet commentators present the Programme as a charter (according to PRAVDA of 13.10.61, "A Book of Life") for all peoples, Communist and non-Communist, and in particular for the peoples of the under-developed countries. This marks the culmination of a process that had hardly begun at the time of the last CPSU Congress. It is a process of defining for the peoples of under-developed countries the further stages of the "revolution" which they are supposed to have begun with their liberation from imperialism, and which they are exhorted to continue along Marxist-Leninist lines towards the final goal of "scientific socialism", always looking to the example of the Soviet Union. Phrases such as "which road to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves" are repeated as before; but the fact remains that the Soviet Union considers the time ripe to come out into the open with a Communist-formulated plan of action which it wants the peoples of the new non-Communist states to make their own.

Appreciations of the "national liberation movement" voiced at the 21st CPSU Congress of January-February 1959 showed a greater degree of ideological detachment than the corresponding assessments made at the present Congress. Mukhitdinov, discussing the subject of unity between newly independent countries, said: "Anti-imperialist content - this is

the main criterion." The same was, in general, the main Soviet criterion in judging the policies of the new states of Africa and Asia. Their internal situation, the composition of class forces, the degree of "democracy" in government and administration, etc., were not discussed - although the growth of anti-Communism, notably in the UAR, suggested that these matters would soon receive closer attention. Khrushchev indeed noted that a new stage was beginning, in which these matters would become more urgent; but he did not put forward any Soviet-made solution for them:

> "Since the expulsion of the colonialists, now that the national tasks have been basically completed, the peoples look for an answer to the social problems raised by reality. These are, primarily, the agrarian and peasant question and the problem of the struggle between labour and capital. Social processes, which inevitably lead to different views as to the further steps in the development of states, arise in the ranks of the national liberation movement. Like other socialist countries, our country has supported and will continue to support the national liberation movement. The Soviet Union has not interfered, and does not intend to interfere, in the domestic affairs of other countries."

Developments in the Middle East and Africa since the 21st CPSU Congress have combined to focus Soviet attention on "the further steps in the development" of the states which Khrushchev here had in mind. Some promising governments have become anti-Communist; in reaction, the Soviet Union has been obliged to reaffirm its championship of the Communists and of their record, and misgivings are again expressed about the "national bourgeois" leaders, while the role of the working class in the national liberation movement is increasingly emphasized. On the other hand some states, such as Guinea, have adopted a socialist system and affirm their friendly admiration for Communism; such developments have been acclaimed in the Soviet Union as evidence of the forward march of socialist ideas, and concern has been shown both to patronize and to claim reflected credit for these socialist initiatives. In short, the widely different potentialities of the "national liberation movement" have been demonstrated: it can either produce a "reactionary ideology" or a regime that draws inspiration from "the socialist states". If the "national liberation movement" is to continue to occupy its favoured place in the Soviet world picture, an ideal pattern of it must be developed which will fit all Soviet requirements and against which all unsatisfactory national movements and regimes can be tested and found wanting.

The key words in the new formula, which first appeared in the statement of the conference of world Communist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, are "democratic" and "revolution". The view is now expressed that the peoples taking part in the national liberation movement have embarked on an "anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution", and that the "consistent completion" of this will lead to their

setting up "states of national democracy" (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.1 of 1961, pp.2-4). As regards "democracy", it may be noted that the normal Soviet description of anti-Communist measures is "anti-democratic"; the regimes of the UAR and Iraq will therefore have to be changed before "national democracy" can be instituted in those countries. As regards "revolution", the national liberation movement is now represented as a revolutionary and continuing process, which therefore qualifies for continued Soviet support and patronage.

Khrushchev, in his report on the Moscow conference of Communist Parties (KOMMUNIST No.1 of 1961, p.26), affirmed the mutuality of interest between the "national liberation movement" and the Communist countries: "The successes of the national liberation movement depend to a vast extent on the victories of socialism, and in their turn strengthen the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism." He rejected the "bourgeois and revisionist" ideas that "the national liberation movement develops as it were independently of the struggle of the working class for socialism, and independently of the support of the socialist states".

Thus it would appear that the Soviet Union looks to the peoples of the newly independent states not only for continued "struggle against imperialism" but also for the adoption of "socialist" aims, in the Soviet sense. This is in fact borne out by the CPSU Draft Programme. This states:

> "The national liberation movement does not end with the gaining of political independence. This independence will be shaky and become fictitious if the revolution does not lead to deep changes in social and economic life, if it does not solve the essential tasks of national rebirth."

It goes on to contrast capitalism, as an oppressive force, with socialism, as a liberating one. "Which road to choose", it says, "is the internal affair of the peoples themselves." But it suggests that they will choose socialism: "With the present correlation of forces in the world and the realistic possibility of the powerful support of the world system of socialism, the peoples of the former colonies can solve this question in their interests."

Thus the programme marks a significant development in Soviet thinking on the further course of the "national liberation movement". If at the 21st CPSU Congress, early in 1959, there may have been a reluctance to do more than discuss its future prospects, today these are closely analysed and guiding lines are laid down. This Soviet adoption of the role of adviser and patron reflects the self-confident posture now assumed on the strength of the successes forecast for Soviet socialism in what Khrushchev calls the "new historic stage of development" of the Soviet Union. Apart from the Soviet ideological example to the new states of Asia and Africa, it is frequently emphasized that the Soviet Union's growing prosperity

will enable it to give still more assistance to the under-developed countries. This in turn is expected to yield ideological dividends; as Khrushchev has stated (report on the Moscow conference of Communist Parties - KOMMUNIST No.1 of 1961, p.28), "socialist aid" is expected to "exercise influence on the prospects of the further development of the liberated countries".

Section 6 of the Programme

The following is a summary of the sixth section of the Programme, headed "the national liberation movement".

With the appearance of socialism, the era of liberation of peoples oppressed by imperialism began. Powerful national liberation revolutions are sweeping away the colonial system; young sovereign states have appeared, and their peoples are playing a role both in international policy and as a revolutionary force for the destruction of imperialism. The struggle is not yet over, however. These peoples have reached various stages of liberation; many, having set up national states, are striving for economic independence and the strengthening of political independence; others, though formally independent, are in practice politically and economically dependent on foreign monopolies, and are rising in the struggle against imperialism and reactionary pro-imperialist regimes; and others are still struggling for freedom from colonial bondage. The young sovereign states belong neither to the system of imperialist states nor to the system of socialist states. Most of them have not yet broken out from the world capitalist economy, although they occupy a special place in it.

The existence of the world system of socialism and the weakening of imperialism offers these peoples wide prospects of progress. Their interests demand the eradication of colonialist and feudal vestiges and of foreign monopolies, the creation of a national industry, radical land reform with the participation of the peasantry, a peace-loving foreign policy, the democratization of social life and the strengthening of political independence. In solving these all-national problems all patriotic and progressive forces can be united. Only an all-democratic movement can defeat feudalism and force foreign capital to retreat; political independence can be consolidated only by a people which has gained democratic rights and liberties and takes an active part in the government of the state.

Imperialism is striving to keep its former colonies within the capitalist system. US imperialism is the main bulwark of contemporary colonialism. By every means - colonial wars, military blocs, collusion, terror, sabotage, economic pressure, bribery and "aid" - the imperialists seek to maintain their domination. They seek to win over the national

bourgeoisie to their side, to impose military despotic regimes and to put obedient puppets in power. Using the poisonous weapon of national and tribal discord, they try to split the ranks of the national liberation movement; and in this the reactionary circles of the local exploiting classes act as allies of imperialism.

The national liberation revolution does not end with the gaining of political independence. This independence will be shaky and become fictitious if the revolution does not lead to deep changes in social and economic life, if it does not solve the essential tasks of national rebirth. The working class, whose numbers and role will grow with the development of industry, is the most consistent fighter in this revolution, and in alliance with the peasantry can form the nucleus of a wide national front, whose stability will determine the degree of participation of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. The national front comprises the working class, the peasants, the national bourgeoisie and the democratic intelligentsia.

The liberation movement of the awakened peoples is taking place in many countries under the banner of nationalism. Marxist-Leninists differentiate between the nationalism of oppressed nations and the nationalism of the oppressing nations. The nationalism of oppressed nations has a common democratic content aimed against oppression, and the Communists support it, considering it historically justified at a given stage. It expresses itself in the aspiration of the oppressed peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression, for national independence and national revival. At the same time there is another side to the nationalism of an oppressed nation which expresses the ideology and interests of the reactionary exploiting top level. (Note: This paragraph is a textual translation of the original.)

The national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In colonial and former colonial countries, where it is not connected with imperialist circles, it participates in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution; its progressive role is not yet exhausted. But, as class differences between the workers and the propertied classes become more acute, it is increasingly inclined to rapprochement with imperialism and internal reaction.

The process of the development of the countries which have freed themselves may be complicated and consist of several states. Their historical, social and economic conditions differ; the revolutionary creativeness of the masses will contribute many original aspects to the forms and rates of progress of their social development. Which road will they take - that of capitalist or of non-capitalist development? Capitalism means suffering, social inequality, further ruin of the peasantry, unemployment, exhausting toil for the enrichment of the capitalists, the ruin of the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle with big capital, and continuing cultural backwardness. Socialism on the other hand means a rapid upsurge of economy and culture, the transformation of a backward country into an

industrial one within one generation, an end to social inequality and unemployment, land and cooperative organization and machinery for the peasants, and a higher standard of living and cultural advancement for all working people. Which road to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves; with world forces as they are and with the possibility of the powerful support of the world system of socialism, they can solve this question in their own interests. The non-capitalist road of development is safeguarded by the struggle of the working class, the popular masses and the all-democratic movement, and accords with the interests of the absolute majority of the nation.

Wide prospects for the peoples of the under-developed countries open up through the formation and development of a state of national democracy, based on the bloc of all progressive, patriotic forces struggling for an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Today the class and national awareness of the popular masses is steadily growing. The imperialists try to distort the idea of national sovereignty and to use it to foster national egoism and exclusiveness and to intensify national antagonisms. For the democratic forces national sovereignty means equality and closer friendship and assistance between peoples in the interests of social progress, for which this idea of national sovereignty is assuming increasing importance.

The Communist Parties are fighting actively for the consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, for the creation of a state of national democracy, for social progress. The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The attempts of reactionary circles to destroy the national front under the flag of anti-Communism and the persecution of Communists lead to a weakening of the national liberation movement, are contrary to the national interests of the peoples, and create a danger of losing those gains already secured.

National states are playing an increasingly active part as an independent force in the national arena; on the whole, they represent a progressive, revolutionary and anti-imperialist force. The peoples of these countries can become a new bastion of peace; the unification of their efforts with those of the peoples of socialist states against the danger of war can force the imperialist aggressors to retreat.

The countries of socialism are sincere and true friends of these peoples, and give them every support. Fraternal alliance with them is for the Soviet Communist Party a keystone of its international policy - an alliance based on the common and vital interests of world socialism and the world national liberation movement. The Soviet Communist Party considers it its international duty to help peoples advancing towards or seeking to strengthen their national independence, and all peoples fighting for the total liquidation of the colonial system.

Excerpts from Khrushchev's Speeches

The following are relevant excerpts from Khrushchev's speeches at the Congress, arranged under appropriate headings. The first two extracts are from Khrushchev's report on the Draft Programme (PRAVDA 19.10.61); the others are from his CPSU Central Committee report (PRAVDA 18.10.61).

From national liberation to socialism "In the present era, a further rapprochement and intermingling of the tasks of the national democratic, national liberation and socialist revolution is taking place. The logical outcome of social development is that all these revolutions are directed, in the first place, against the one, main enemy - imperialism, the monopolistic bourgeoisie. The question is often asked: how will the world liberation movement proceed? Naturally, in highly developed capitalist countries, conditions are ripe for a transition to socialism. The seething under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, pursuing to the end the national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution, will be able to carry out the transition to socialism. In the present era, practically every country, irrespective of the level of its development, can take the path leading to socialism. The world revolutionary process is developing on an ever wider scale, embracing all continents."

The "state of national democracy" "Entry into the non-capitalist path of development cannot be attained in a haphazard manner. Only the active struggle of the working class, of the working masses, and the unification of all democratic and patriotic forces in a broad national front can lead the peoples on to this path. Marxist theoretical thought, profoundly studying the objective course of development, has discovered the form in which the unification of all the healthy forces of a nation can most successfully be achieved. This form is the state of national democracy. Such a state, reflecting the interests not only of one or other class but of the broad strata of the people, is called upon to achieve a final solution of the tasks of the anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution."

"Dictatorial methods" in some newly independent countries "The countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression have entered a new period of their development. The struggle for political independence united all national forces which suffered under the colonizers and were prompted by common interests. Now, when the current task is to eradicate the roots of imperialism, to carry out agrarian and other urgent social reforms, the differences of class interests begin to become more apparent. The broad masses of the working people, as well as a considerable part of the national bourgeoisie who are interested in the solution of the main tasks of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, want to move further along the path of the consolidation of independence and social and economic transformation. But among the ruling circles of these countries there are also forces which are afraid of further cooperation with the democratic,

progressive strata of the nation. They would like to appropriate the fruits of the national struggle and to hamper the further development of the national revolution. Such forces are steering along the line of appeasement of imperialism abroad and feudalism inside their countries and are resorting to dictatorial methods."

Relations with Asian and African countries "The development of our cooperation with the great powers of Asia - India and Indonesia - evokes the profound satisfaction of the Soviet people. We rejoice at their successes, we understand their difficulties, and we readily extend businesslike cooperation which helps them to advance their economies and culture. Our relations with other countries of Asia and Africa which have freed themselves from the foreign yoke - Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, the UAR, Iraq, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia, Somalia and others - are developing successfully on a similar basis. We shall develop businesslike cooperation with the Syrian Arab Republic."

(Note: This is the first Soviet statement on policy towards independent Syria, since the official announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic.)

Excerpt of the Congress Resolution

The resolution of the Congress on the report of the CPSU Central Committee (PRAVDA 1.11.61), in its analysis of the situation in the non-Communist world, deals with both the developed and the under-developed non-Communist countries in the same section. In these passages the resolution has a more uncompromising tone than the section of the Programme dealing with the "national liberation movement". The emphasis here is not on intermediate stages to socialism but on the immediate aim of the working class, headed by its "advance guard" (the Communist Party), of putting into effect a full-scale "socialist revolution", either by peaceful or by violent means, as circumstances require. In the following excerpt headings have been added.

The road to "socialist revolution" "The successes of the socialist countries are having an increasing all-round influence on the peoples in non-socialist states, revolutionizing and hastening the movement of all mankind along the road of progress. It is now not imperialism but socialism that defines the main direction of the world's development. The conclusion drawn by the 20th Congress that an exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism was inevitable has been fully confirmed. In the last few years there has been a further weakening of the economic, political and ideological position of imperialism. Its main contradictions have become even more acute, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the democratic and national liberation movement have developed on a vast scale. The capitalist system is discrediting itself more and more in the eyes of the

peoples as one of cruel exploitation of the workers, national and colonial oppression, the arms race and destructive wars. Under the powerful blows of the national liberation movement the colonial system has, in fact, disintegrated. The imperialist forces - above all American imperialism, the mainstay of international reaction and the international gendarme - are seeking to maintain their positions by employing new and more subtle forms of colonial enslavement. Historical experience, however, is more and more convincing the peoples of former colonies that only final liberation from every form of economic and political dependence, only the non-capitalist road of development, can bring their countries genuine freedom, prosperity and happiness.

"Contrary to the prophecies of the ideologists of imperialism and their Right-wing socialist and revisionist associates, the class struggle in the capitalist countries is not dying but is assuming greater proportions and becoming increasingly widespread and acute. Together with revolutionary manifestations by the working class the peasant and general democratic movement is growing. The unification of all the forces opposed to imperialism and a decisive defeat of the ideology and practice of anti-Communism and reformism are becoming a pressing necessity.

"The whole course of social development and the relentless growth of the forces on the side of socialism against imperialism confirm the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the 20th Congress regarding the diversity of forms of countries' transition to socialism. This conclusion, supported by the international Communist movement, has found its embodiment and development in the Declaration of 1957 and in the Statement of 1960 adopted at the conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties. Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class and all workers in their countries for the implementation of socialist revolution and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The ways and means of bringing about a socialist revolution will depend on the actual correlation of class forces in any country, the degree of organization and the maturity of the working class and its vanguard and the extent of resistance by the ruling classes. In whatever form a dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always constitute an extension and a transition from formal bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, democracy for the workers. The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party, strive for the implementation of a socialist revolution by peaceful means. The realization of this possibility would correspond with the interests of the working class and the whole people and the common national interests of a country."

Violence or non-violence "Under present conditions in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its leading detachment, is capable, on the basis of a workers' and national front and other possible forms of agreement and political cooperation between various parties and public organizations, of uniting the majority of the people and taking over the state power without civil war and ensuring the transition of the main means of production into the hands of the people. Basing itself on a majority of

the people and firmly rebuffing opportunist elements that cannot give up a policy of conciliating the capitalists and landowners, the working class is capable of defeating reactionary and anti-popular forces, gaining a stable majority in parliament and converting parliament from an instrument which serves the class interests of the bourgeoisie into one which serves the working people, developing a wide mass struggle outside parliament, crushing the forces of reaction and creating the necessary conditions for the peaceful implementation of a socialist revolution. All this will be possible only through an extensive and continuous development of the class struggle of the worker and peasant masses and the urban middle class against big monopoly capital and reaction for thorough social reforms, peace and socialism.

"In the event of the exploiting class resorting to violence against the people, another possibility must be considered - an unpeaceful transition to socialism. Leninism teaches, and historical experience confirms, that dominating classes do not relinquish power voluntarily. The degree of violence and the form that the class struggle takes in these circumstances will depend not only on the proletariat but also on the strength of the resistance of the forces of reaction to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people and on the use of violence by these forces in any stage of the struggle for socialism."

SPEECHES BY MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICAN DELEGATES

In their speeches to the Congress most Middle East and African delegates referred, either briefly or at greater length, to the political situation in their countries. Of the Arab delegates, the Syrian delegate applauded the secession of Syria from the UAR, and denounced the former regime. The Lebanese delegate similarly condemned "Nasir's dictatorship". The Iraqi delegate said that in Iraq "a military regime" was still suppressing democratic rights and liberties. The Algerian delegate spole of his Party's endeavours for a correct political orientation of the Algerian people's struggle, but made no explicit reference to differences between the Party and the FLN leadership (see MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.9 of 1961, pp.5-6). The Tunisian delegate complained that the Tunisian Government had not yet fully learnt the lesson of the Bizerta events, and was not insisting on unconditional French evacuation. The Moroccan delegate called for the election of a Moroccan parliament that would truly reflect the people's will. The Sudanese delegate complained of persecution of "fighters for peace and democracy" in the Sudan, and alleged that Sudanese rapprochement with the socialist countries was being impeded.

The delegates of Guinea, Ghana and Mali all expressed keen appreciation of Soviet achievements and of Soviet aid to the African countries,

and admiration for the principles and practice of the Soviet Communist Party.

Speech by Syrian Delegate

The following is the major portion of the speech by Khalid Bakdash, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, which was devoted to a discussion of Syria's new situation following its secession from the UAR (PRAVDA 25.10.61).

"Arab Syria has won a great victory by establishing its independence and national sovereignty. The Soviet Union was the first of the great powers to recognize the Syrian Arab Republic. This had great importance for Syria in one of its critical moments. Therefore to the great Soviet people, to its government and its leaders, to all of you, dear comrades and delegates, the people of the Syrian Arab Republic expresses its feeling of the most profound indebtedness and gratitude. (Applause)

"Events have justified the policy of our party, which has held for the last three years that the union of Egypt and Syria, on the foundation and in the form in which it was realized, contradicted the needs of the objective development of the Arab community, that it had no future and could not last long.

"In the last three years the Syrian people has undergone great trials. Many hundreds of workers, peasants, students, intelligentsia and officers were thrown into prison or compelled to go into hiding. Several comrades perished under savage tortures. They chose death rather than renounce the principles of Marxism-Leninism. But Syria's sufferings have not been in vain. They have done a great service to the other Arab nations, they have been an unforgettable lesson for the whole Arab national liberation movement.

"The fall of the Syrian-Egyptian union, which collapsed in the space of a few hours thanks to the solidarity of the people and the army, was not only a proof of the degree of isolation of the present regime and the crisis in the organization of that regime, but a confirmation of the justice of our conclusion that the way to Arab unity lay not through annexation, expansion and domination, and not through the enslavement of one Arab country by another Arab country. Our party was and still is of the opinion that other Arab countries cannot be regarded as the 'vital territory' of any given Arab country, that it cannot strive to turn them into internal colonies of its bourgeoisie, that the way to Arab unity lies not through dictatorship, caprice and tyranny, not through spoliation and propagation of destitution and ignorance. Genuine Arab unity, like the unity of any other countries, can be accomplished and develop only on the basis of brotherhood and equality between the Arab peoples, taking into account the objective peculiarities of each Arab country, only on the basis of struggle against American, British and French imperialism, on the basis

of safeguarding the development of the economy and culture of each Arab state, on the basis of a clear Arab policy, the main ingredient of which is democracy, determined struggle for full national liberation and for peace among the nations. (Applause)

"The fall of the union of Egypt and Syria is not the fall of Arab unity, but the collapse of the policy of antidemocratism, of the policy of anti-Communism! (Applause) This must be understood by the rulers of Egypt, and also by the rulers of Syria, by all patriots of our country, regardless of their class or their political views.

"The whole Syrian people, including those patriots who stand very far from our party, are now deeply angered and perturbed, seeing that the Syrian patriots, including trade union leaders, Communists and pacifists, who were imprisoned and spent three years in the prison torture-chambers of the fallen regime, are now being sent for trial instead of being freed and welcomed as heroes who refused to bow to tyranny and remained faithful to their people, to the principles of national liberation, democracy and genuine Arab unity. (Applause)

"We, the Syrian Communists, in spite of the difficulties before us, will strive with all our power to unite all national forces with the aim of ensuring national independence, the protection of Syria from the intrigues of imperialism and its agents in neighbouring countries and internally; with the aim of establishing democracy, ensuring freedom for the people, creating political organizations, trade unions, the right to strike, the freedom of the press and of public meetings; safeguarding the achievements of the workers and peasants, and carrying out agrarian reform, which was not satisfactorily put into effect; protecting our country from penetration by American, British and West German imperialist capital; building a national economy by strengthening the state-owned sector and encouraging private manufacturing concerns; and unflagging improvement of the material and cultural level of the nation.

"The Syrian people wants genuine Arab unity. Stretching out its hand in brotherly solidarity to all Arab nations, it knows very well that the Egyptian people is not responsible for the gross errors perpetrated in the period of unity. Our people wishes that the lessons of this experience should not be lost, and that relations between Syria and Egypt should become once more as they were before the unification - relations of friendship and brotherly solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, without interference in each other's affairs.

"The Syrian nation demands the holding of really free elections, so that parliament should represent correctly the will of the people. Syria has found from its own experience that that is one of the main factors in ensuring stability in the country.

"The Syrian people insists on the execution of projects provided for in the Syrian-Soviet agreement of 1957. If its realization, held up through

no fault of the Soviet Union, were begun in due course, then the whole face of Syria would be changed. Our people is convinced that one of the main guarantees of success in the struggle for the retention of Syria's independence and the building of its national economy is the strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union and with other countries of the socialist camp." (Prolonged applause)

Speech by Lebanese Delegate

Nikola Shawi, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, expressed admiration of the great prospects outlined in the Programme of the Soviet Communist Party, paid tribute to Soviet support for the Lebanon's independence, and spoke of Lebanese Communists' struggle for a "national democratic regime" in the Lebanon (PRAVDA 27.10.61). He went on to speak of events in Syria:

"The victory of the Syrian nation in freeing itself from the regime dominated by tyranny and dictatorship, won thanks to the cooperation of the people and the army, is also an event of the greatest importance for the Lebanese nation. The Lebanese nation, including all its various layers, was struggling against the danger of annexation and dismemberment with which Nasir's dictatorship threatened its native land. The struggle of the Syrian and Lebanese Communist parties was united in one great battle, during which our dear comrade Farajallah Hilu, secretary of our party, perished heroically under torture together with many other fellow-fighters, who were liquidated by the Syrian dictatorship. We hope that our brothers the Syrian people, uniting all their patriotic forces in the struggle, will be able to ensure stability in their country and go forward on the way to strengthening independence, democracy and prosperity."

Speech by Iraqi Delegate

Salam Adil, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, after praising the Programme of the Soviet Communist Party, emphasized the beneficial influence of the 20th CPSU Congress on the Iraqi Communist Party in its struggle against "dogmatism, sectarianism and bureaucratism"; and he praised the "creative policy" of the Soviet Union towards the Middle East and Arab countries since 1956, which had helped to raise the national struggle in Iraq to a new level. This had been shown in the autumn rising of 1956 against "the aggressive Baghdad Pact and the reactionary imperialist regime", and in the formation of a national front of all anti-imperialist parties. The revolution of 14th July 1958 could not have achieved such rapid success without the decisive support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. After expressing solidarity with Soviet pronouncements about the "anti-Party group" in the Soviet Union and about the policy of the Albanian leaders, Salam Adil referred to the situation in Iraq. (PRAVDA 25.10.61)

"Our Iraqi people, which is represented by two main nationalities, the Arabs and the Kurds, regards with great satisfaction the development of relations of brotherhood and cooperation between the peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union. (Applause) All this makes the Arabs and the Kurds even more convinced of the necessity of strengthening their joint struggle for democracy against imperialist plots aimed at the disruption of the nationalist ranks, against the policy of repression and persecution of the Kurdish people of Iraq...

"Thanks to the consciousness and struggle of our popular masses, the government of our country assumes some positions independent of imperialism, condemns aggressive military blocs, and supports the national liberation movement for peace. In spite of many difficulties created by the government machine, the economic agreements between Iraq and the Soviet Union are being put into effect. On the other hand, this government not only fails to meet the democratic demands of the people, but on the contrary takes no steps to establish a national regime on democratic principles, and obstinately persists in a policy directed against the freedom and rights of the people.

"For no reason at all a military regime still exists in the country. All kinds of party activity are persecuted, and the legitimate activities of the Communist Party are forbidden above all. From time to time sweeping waves of arrests are carried out. Several thousand persons are constantly kept in prison. At present there languish in prison more than 50 fighters condemned to death by a military tribunal for displaying heroism in the struggle against reactionary forces during the imperialist intrigues; and 286 courageous fighters were killed in broad daylight - Communists and democrats. The country's economic position is deteriorating, the standard of living is falling, unemployment is increasing, and the dominance of feudal overlords is springing up again in the country. The government is avoiding fulfilling the law on land reform and has worked out no programme of industrialization, while state revenue is being spent on secondary projects.

"Our party is actively fulfilling its task and playing a leading role in the democratic, anti-imperialist movement for democracy. It supports all measures of the government directed against imperialism, plots, military pacts and monopolistic oil companies. But at the same time it is untiring in waging war on the antidemocratic policy of the government. This struggle has increased the consciousness of the popular masses, especially the workers, united them round our party - the membership of which has increased two and a half times in the past two years - and has created favourable conditions for a rapprochement and cooperation between democratic forces.

"Last year was begun a massive political and economic struggle in defence of democratic rights and freedoms, for a decisive policy towards imperialism, for the fulfilment of economic demands and the improvement of living conditions, and against new taxes. This struggle has met with immense support from progressive forces all over the world. Your solidarity

and the successes you have achieved in the Soviet Union have great meaning for us and inspire the popular masses of Iraq in their just battle."

Speeches by Other Middle East Delegates

The Jordanian delegate, Fuad Nassar, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party, said that in Jordan "oppression and terror reign, directed against all our people and especially against our Communist Party", more than 500 members of which were in prisons and concentration camps. For some months a campaign for democratic liberties and for the liberation of political prisoners had been in progress in Jordan, and the Communist Party was in the first ranks of this struggle. The Party was fighting against the forces of war and reaction, for the unity of all national anti-imperialist forces in a united front, for the establishment of a national democratic regime, and for friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. (PRAVDA 28.10.61)

The Turkish delegate, Yakub Demir, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Turkish Communist Party, said that the Ankara Government had violated the international agreement on the Straits by allowing US warships to conduct "provocative demonstrations in the Black Sea, directed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries". In the name of the Turkish people Turkish Communists expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for unmasking, in the recently published CENTO secret documents, the criminal imperialist plans for devastating areas of Turkey and annihilating their population by atomic bombardment. (PRAVDA 30.10.61)

The Persian delegate, Reza Radmanesh, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party, similarly denounced the alleged CENTO plans for turning areas of Persia into a "death zone". In the eight years since the military coup d'etat of 1953 and the overthrow of the lawful government of Dr. Mosaddeq, he said, the "bankruptcy" of the present regime had become obvious; the people's struggle in the last two years had shown that "a new advance of the liberation movement" was in progress. The Tudeh Party was fighting for the creation of an all-national anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front, for the overthrow of the reactionary regime, the restoration of democratic liberties, withdrawal from aggressive pacts and the creation of a national government. (PRAVDA 28.10.61)

The Israeli delegate, Samuel Mikunis, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party, spoke of the great moral and political influence of the CPSU Congress on the workers of Israel; it would "assist our Party to intensify its struggle against the anti-national and anti-popular policy of the ruling circles of Israel, headed by Ben Gurion, and against the wanton and reckless policy without a future which has turned Israel into an appendage of the adventurist, aggressive and colonialist policy of NATO". The Israeli Communist Party categorically

repudiated the Israeli Government's Arab policy, its participation in the 1956 attack on Egypt, its ignoring of the lawful rights of the Palestine refugees, its oppression of Israel's Arab population and its "dangerous orientation towards the unleashing of an Israeli-Arab conflict". The Israeli Communist Party was struggling for peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict "on the basis of mutual recognition of the lawful rights of both peoples, the Arab people of Palestine and the Israeli people".

The Cypriot delegate, Ezekias Papaioannou, Secretary-General of the Reform Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), said that the Cypriot people knew that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries were the staunchest supporters of their struggle for self-determination, and moreover that they could rely on the disinterested economic aid of the Soviet Union to make good the ravages of colonialism. The Cypriot people would never feel free or secure so long as the imperialists maintained military bases on Cyprus and they would fight for the liquidation of these and for true national independence, confident of the "unlimited support" of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in this struggle. (PRAVDA 27.10.61)

Speeches by African Delegates

The Algerian delegate, Larbi Buhali, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party, said that the Algerian patriots' struggle for liberation was "increasingly assuming a political, economic and social character", and this was shown in the last session of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution. In accordance with the Council's decisions, the Algerian people was strengthening the political struggle as well as the armed struggle, and closing its ranks around the National Liberation Army and the Provisional Government. The Algerian Communist Party, "in its everyday work for the organization and correct orientation of our people's struggle", was guided by the rich and unequalled experience of the Party of Lenin. (PRAVDA 24.10.61)

According to Moscow radio (24.10.61) a message of greetings which Larbi Buhali gave to Khrushchev from the Algerian Communist Party stated that "independent Algeria will borrow the main features of the socialist society built in the Soviet Union".

The Moroccan delegate, Ali Yata, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moroccan Communist Party, said that in its fight for national liberation the Moroccan people had recently achieved a notable success by obliging French forces to withdraw from Morocco; it remained to liquidate the American bases and to liberate the towns and territories occupied by Spain, and also Mauritania, "wrested" from Morocco "by the French imperialists". The imperialists wanted to keep in their hands an important source of raw materials, and also a base for attack on the Arab peoples of

North Africa and on other liberated African countries, above all the neighbouring countries of Mali and Guinea. The Moroccan delegation was pleased to see the delegations of these two republics present at the Congress. As regards internal policy, Morocco must liquidate the domination of foreign monopolies, develop the economy by nationalization and industrialization, and set in hand a radical land reform. An independent national economy could be built up on the basis of internal resources, and also with the unselfish aid of the socialist countries. No underdeveloped country could advance to prosperity unless it discarded capitalism and chose the road of scientific socialism; Africans were becoming more and more convinced of this every day. Moroccan Communists were also fighting, together with all progressive forces, for the establishment of a genuinely democratic regime, for elections to a national parliament which would work out a constitution, "guided by the principle that all power comes from the people and that the government is responsible before the people and is the executant of its will". (PRAVDA 27.10.61)

The Tunisian delegate, Muhammad Harmal, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tunisina Communist Party, expressed the Tunisian people's thanks to the Soviet Union for its support during "the imperialist attack on Bizerta". Bizerta had confirmed the correctness of the principles which Tunisian Communists had always defended. "De Gaulle's true face was revealed in all its ugliness; his hypocritical and lying claims about decolonization were exploded as soon as the aggression began. He appeared as he is - a henchman of imperialism and of the big capitalist monopolies." The masses of the people had now seen clearly who was their friend and who their enemy. "Our Party is trying to explain to the masses the significance of this experience and the lessons it has taught us, and is endeavouring to induce our country to pursue a policy based on these lessons." Under the agreement with France the French forces had withdrawn to their former positions, but the main question of evacuation had not yet been solved. "We firmly defend the principle of evacuation. The NATO states are the enemies of our people, the enemies of all the peoples and of peace. Our Party, faithful to the position which all the national forces adopted at the time of the battle for Bizerta, considers that the principle of evacuation must be unconditionally accepted." (PRAVDA 29.10.61)

The Sudanese delegate, Ibrahim Mustafa, member of the Politburo of the Sudanese Communist Party, said: "Our Party grew up linked inseparably with the Sudanese working masses. It contributed actively towards the establishment of trade unions and other mass organizations in the country, and educated the masses of the people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. All this strengthened the patriotic movement against colonialism, helped in exploiting the weakness and retreat of colonialism during the first years after the Second World War and greatly facilitated the Sudan's achievement of national independence in 1952. Our people know well that this was made possible not only as a result of their struggle, but above all as a result of the existence of the socialist camp. It has

now become clearer to them that the establishment of cooperation with the socialist camp is the main condition for the consolidation of the country's independence and its constant development...From the CPSU Programme our Party and people gather a new confidence and new strength to continue their struggle for the establishment of a national democratic state capable of accomplishing the main tasks facing the Sudanese people: waging an organized struggle against colonialism above all, liberating the country's economy from the influence of imperialist monopolies, industrializing the country with the help of the socialist camp, safeguarding democracy, pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence and strengthening peace among the peoples.

"Thanks to the struggle and opposition of the working masses and demonstrations by patriotic soldiers the Sudanese Government refrained from linking itself openly with imperialist military pacts, although the fact is well known that airfields in our country have been made available to the US Air Force. In our country fighters for peace and democracy are being persecuted, and contrary to the interests of the Sudanese people obstacles are being placed in the way of the development of relations with the countries of the socialist camp. Our Party is at present pursuing a policy of uniting all national forces in a single front, with the workers and peasants as its foundation. There have been many strikes and demonstrations in our country, in which many thousands of workers took part. We are confident that the struggle of our people for its vital rights will be crowned with success." (PRAVDA 30.10.61)

The Guinean delegate, Saifoulaye Diallo, Political Secretary of the Guinean Democratic Party and President of the Guinean National Assembly, recalled how in September 1959 a delegation of the Soviet Communist Party attended the fifth congress of the Guinean Democratic Party, an event which gave encouragement to Guinea's "activists" and "aroused the rage of the colonialists". The Guinean Democratic Party was honoured to be sending a delegation to the CPSU Congress. It was a party uniting all people of good will, without distinction of sex or race, who were resolved to fight against colonialism and build a strong, independent and democratic state in the name of the social progress and economic and cultural development of the Guinean people. The party was guided by the principle of democratic centralism and by such criteria as criticism and self-criticism. The CPSU Congress was of great importance for the young independent but underdeveloped countries of Africa, where neo-colonialism was trying to suppress the peoples' aspirations to freedom, justice, democracy, peace and prosperity. The Guinean Democratic Party expressed its gratitude to the socialist countries for their timely and disinterested aid to the young republic. The socialist countries and the Communist and workers' parties inspired with hope the peoples of Africa fighting for independence and the development of their countries. "You better than others can understand what importance has rightly been attached to the glorious October Revolution of 1917 by colonial, exploited and oppressed Africa, and what hopes the peoples of Africa derive from your successes in the political, economic, social and technical fields."

The Ghanaian delegate, Ebenezer Cephas Kweah, of the Convention People's Party, said that he was proud that his delegation had been invited to the Congress. The democratic way in which questions were decided by the CPSU had made a great impression on the delegation. During their visit to the Soviet Union they had "felt the militant spirit inherent in Communism and seen its progressive system, which guarantees to the peoples happiness and prosperity". He hoped that friendship between the Ghanaian and Soviet peoples would be further developed, in the interests of peace and friendship between all peoples.

The Mali delegate, Tidiani Traore, member of the Politburo of the Union Soudanaise, said that the African parties, with "the full support of their peoples...entering the road of construction of states of national democracy", were proud of the confidence shown in them by the CPSU in inviting them to its Congress. The national liberation movement in Africa had achieved its successes thanks to the organized struggle of the peoples and also to the support of the USSR and the socialist countries, as well as of democratic organizations such as the Peace Partisans Movement, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, etc. The peoples of the former French colonies had received support from French organizations such as the French Communist Party and the CGT; the Union Soudanaise would never identify the French colonialists with the French people. Russia, an economically backward country before 1917, used to oppress the peoples of her Central Asian colonies; having freed them from the oppression of their own landlords and of foreign capitalists, the Soviet regime gave them freedom, and the former Tsarist colonies were now proud of belonging to the great Soviet Union, which guaranteed to every people the possibility of rapid advance to prosperity. Many Mali delegations had visited the USSR, meeting Soviet men and women, youth and kolkhoz workers, and visiting industrial enterprises and construction sites; these experiences, and their friendly reception by the Soviet people, had meant much to them. Today, whenever any people or organization tried to throw off colonial chains, to liquidate inequality, to unmask discrimination or to achieve a just distribution of material benefits, the colonialists raised the cry: "Beware, these are agents of Moscow, this is Communism!" In fact, this meant that Communism was the synonym of freedom, of justice, of equality and of brotherhood. The Mali delegate went on to praise Soviet economic and technical aid to the African countries, and quoted at length from a speech made by the Soviet delegate at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo in winter 1957, who in wide general terms invited requests for economic and technical aid, training, etc. - "Tell us what you need and we shall help you, allocating funds within the limits of our economic means in the form of credits or in the form of free technical aid."

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